

THE American Indian got little wealth out of the continent of boundless resources over which he roamed. He had but the slightest of knowledge of the keys to nature's storehouses, he knew not how to avail of the wealth that nature threw at his feet, his knowledge of agriculture was slim, of metallurgy none, of the chase, that pursuit of primeval man, alone superior. And upon the chase only a scattered and most meager population can possibly exist. So it became a question of leaving the great ex-

panses of the Americas to the aborigines and checking the advancement of the human race or of driving the Indians from their hunting grounds and appropriating the territory over which they roamed in search of an uncertain sustenance.

This question our people were not long in deciding. We did not let any regard for the interests of the Indians stand in the way of our advancement as a people. As we grew in numbers and felt need of more land to cultivate, we narrowed the roaming grounds of the Indians and so exterminated them. Nor as a people have we felt much pity. We have looked upon the extermination of the Indians as manifest destiny. The red man knew not how to get great wealth out of the American continent, the white man did. So it became a question of undeveloped resources, a question of leaving the wealth of the continent unused or of exterminating the Indians. And so the red man has been driven from the lordly domain that once was his but that he knew not how to use and that domain was encroached upon, occupied, by those who knew better how to use it.

THE Soudanese are higher up in the scale of civilization than the American Indian, but they cannot get the wealth by far from the lands that they occupy that the British can. So the occupation of those lands is a step in the direction of human progress, as it must open the way to the gathering of wealth, the promotion of general happiness. Under British direction the dervish country can no doubt be made to bear wealth that can be appropriated by man with a rapidity never dreamed of by the dervishes. So if progress in this dervish country is not to be hindered the country must pass out of the hands of dervishes and into more progressive hands.

There is no denying this, and for this the supreme victory, which crowns the skillful two years' campaign conducted by General Kitchener, opens the way. The extermination of the Soudanese people may not follow, for those people may learn to accept direction from their British conquerors and accept it for their weal, for though the British would doubtless exact a share of the wealth produced as pay for giving direction, it is not impossible that under such direction the production of wealth would so increase that the share remaining to the producers would be larger than they now enjoy, though not burdened with such tax. Thus we trust that the Soudanese will prosper as British wards; such do we trust will be the fate of the negroes of Central Africa. But we fear they will languish as virtual slaves.

THAT Britain will soon dominate over Central Africa as over the Soudan we do not doubt; that British energy will furnish the keys to unlock nature's storehouses and avail of the latent wealth in the soil and perhaps bowels of the earth we do not question, but we do not expect to see a displacing of the present inhabitants by British, save in the direction of enterprise. Indeed climate forbids, forbids the white man to labor in those climes. So he cannot afford to have the present races exterminated as we exterminated the Indians, for to do so would be to destroy the means of developing the resources of such country and growing rich out of such development.

Extermination is then not to be expected. But as we go towards the Equator a livelihood comes easier. Nature providing man with all that he needs for an humble life, in return for the expenditure of little labor, he has no great incentive to labor. Yet unless the people of such countries will work steadily and hard the development of such countries is practically impossible. Therefore the temptation of those who undertake to exploit such countries to drive the people to labor, to virtually enslave them. And British, even now, are not superior to this temptation. Only a short time ago there was insurrection in Matabeleland that British interests had undertaken to exploit, an insurrection of which very considerable was heard for

a while, which began with the killing of a few widely scattered white overseers, which ended with the slaughter of thousands of negroes. And this insurrection grew directly out of efforts that were made to enslave the negroes.

In brief, some difficulty was had in getting labor. Voluntarily it was not given. Then came the temptation to impress gangs of negroes and drive them to labor; and this the exploiters of Matabeleland did. They established a virtual slavery; and then came insurrection, quelled by the slaughter of thousands who had risen against injustice. Since then quietness has reigned; but this may be because Matabeleland has proved to be not worth exploiting, and because, as a consequence, there has been less driving of men to forced labor.

We trust the treatment of natives in Matabeleland will not be paralleled in other parts of Africa, undoubtedly rich, that may come under British rule. But we fear it will be; fear the peoples of the countries opened to free intercourse with the world by British armies and the British railroad that follows the army up the Nile will not prosper as wards but languish as slaves.

BRITISH victory up the Nile did not long precede trouble for the British, and for that matter the whole of Europe, in Crete. This little island, inhabited by races who always live at the dagger's point and whose enmity is stirred by religious differences and remembrances of past and mutual grievances has long been subject to insurrection. Indeed, the condition of insurrection of the Christian population against Mussulman rule and extortion is almost chronic. If it was not for the Turkish garrison the Christians would be able to, and no doubt would, drive the Turkish population into the sea. The island was originally Christian, but was captured by the Ottoman empire when in its glory. And when thus captured Turks went to the island to rob the conquered people, rob them of the fruits of their toil, despoil them of their savings. Thus were the seeds of hate sown, thus were sown the seeds of chronic insurrection.

Two years ago these seeds burst into life for the half hundredth time and there was war to the death. The Powers of Europe, acting together in the much spoken of but unwieldy "Concert," a Concert that is never ready to act for fear of breaking up, undertook to interfere and re-establish not only a temporary but permanent peace. But the failure of the concert to act promptly and decisively caused trouble to brew in another quarter. The Grecian people, moved by tales of horror, sympathizing with their co-religionists, demanded that their own government, own little kingdom, should act where the Concert hesitated. Finally the Grecian Government felt constrained to submit to the popular will and dispatched assistance to the Cretan insurgents. Then followed the war with Turkey, so signally disastrous for Greece. The Powers stepped in to prevent the annihilation of Greece, they pledged themselves to put an end to the Cretan troubles and the causes for those troubles.

BUT the Powers failing to keep these pledges, failing to remove the causes of insurrection, failing to prevent injustice, extortion and crime, insurrection has again broken out, and many complications have come with it. In the town of Candia there has been serious fighting not only between Turks and Christians but between Turks and British marines, the latter landed to preserve order. And that which adds to the seriousness of the case is that the Turkish troops and Governor while making some show of effort to stop the massacre of Christians have made no effort to stop the reign of pillage and sack, the pillage of Christians by Mussulmans. So serious did the situation become that the British battle ship Camperdown, chiefly renowned for ramming and sinking the Victoria and two-thirds of her crew, in waters not far distant from those in which she now lies, was called upon to bombard the town. Perhaps the killing of a score or more of

British marines and the burning of the British Vice Consul in his house will awaken the British people to a sense of the importance of establishing a rule of law and order in Crete, awaken them as the killing, massacre of hundreds of Cretans has failed to do. Let us hope so.

THE Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, who, so far as the foreign relations of Great Britain are concerned, is the aggressive, if not bellicose member of the Salisbury cabinet, has just arrived in New York upon his annual pilgrimage to America, called for by the fact that his wife is an American, and proffered to the American people a budget of advice. First he tells us that our foreign interests are Britain's interests, that we should join hands with Britain to protect them—which, considering the inequality between the proportions of capital invested in England in foreign trade and in America would be a very jug handled operation. In the second place he advises that we embark on a policy of territorial expansion, which would bring us into European politics and he hopes as the ally of Great Britain. A short time since there were few Americans but who would have agreed that it would be a sound rule of policy "to find out what an Englishman wants you to do and then don't do it." But Englishmen supporting the Republican party as the gold party has caused Republicans to perforce drop the charge that the Democratic party is the party of British interests. And then the conduct of Britain during the strained relations and hostilities between Spain and the United States, conduct declared by the British press and denied by the Continental papers, conduct for which if, as semi-officially published in London, we are greatly indebted, has caused no inconsiderable revulsion of opinion in favor of Britain.

THE Grand Army reunion at Cincinnati has been made the occasion for several declarations of belief as to what our foreign policy should be by several leading men in public life. One of the most striking addresses was one by Senator Thurston, of Nebraska, in which he reminded his hearers that we made war on Spain pledged to make it a war of liberation, not of conquest.

This, to the expansionists, is an awkward reminder at this time. It is time for the President or some one else to call him down in the name of party expediency. Addresses such as that of Mr. Thurston's by leading Republicans are preventing the Republicans from making the question of expansion the issue this fall. There is a feeling that outspoken advocacy of expansion during the campaign would awaken enthusiasm, and that popular earnestness in the success of Republican candidates for Congress as would lead on to success.

Republican leaders never did like to fight campaigns on financial or rather monetary issues and they have only so fought under the stress of necessity. And the tariff, long a favorite issue, is relegated to the background by the fact that the great manufacturers of the country, especially of Philadelphia, are reaching out for foreign markets in the capture of which the protective tariff cannot aid them and may hinder them by putting them at a disadvantage in securing raw materials, and hence these manufacturers have ceased to be earnest advocates of protection. Consequently the Republican managers are muddled as to the conduct of the campaign and apparently are resolved to seek a way out by showing up the family quarrels in the Democratic party and generally conducting a campaign of raillery. Yet it is pretty hard for the Republican party to make capital out of the incompetency of Democratic leaders to agree as to party policy, pretty hard to make capital out of the dissatisfaction of the people with the Democratic party or for the Democratic party to make capital out of general dissatisfaction of the people with the Republican. It is too much like pot calling kettle black. The slump of the Republican vote cast last Tuesday in Vermont, a Republican stronghold, and the equal slump of the Democratic

vote in Arkansas, a Democratic stronghold, only adds to the general uneasiness and feeling on both sides that anything may happen.

THE maladministration of the War Department, the general disgust with General Alger that is fast extending to the President, now that it is seen that his purpose is to defend instead of dismissing his incompetent Secretary, to hush up criticism, richly deserved, and permit officers responsible for a goodly part of the sufferings of our soldiers, for the death of many, for the gross blunders in serving the army with supplies of all kinds, to go not only unpunished and unrebuked but to hold the places they have shown themselves incompetent to fill; the trenchant criticism of Mr. Sherman and others of this shameful state of affairs are the best cards the Democrats have to play.

President McKinley knows it well, and he is striving to prevent men in his own party from making criticisms that will serve the Democrats as campaign ammunition. He began this work with Mr. Sherman, whose criticisms have been most cutting. He called him to the White House and plainly told him he was hurting the party; that his course was impolitic, and appealed to him in the name of party loyalty to hold his peace. But the venerable Mr. Sherman, who has held a grudge against Mr. McKinley since he was virtually dismissed from the position of Secretary of State at the outbreak of the Spanish war, told the President, so he tells us, that there are some things dearer to him than party; that for his part he puts loyalty to country before loyalty to party; that the lives of our soldiers were dearer to him than party success, and that if he thought criticism from him would spur the Administration to action that would result in taking the lives of our soldiers out of the hands of incompetents he would not hesitate.

GENERAL POLAVIEJA, man of blood and iron, but who long since saw that Cuba and Puerto Rico were not destined to remain Spanish colonies forever, and urged Spain to prepare to voluntarily relinquish that which if she did not would be forcibly taken from her, late Governor General of the Philippines, has responded to appeals to place himself at the head of a neutral party by asserting that "the parties which have hitherto governed Spain are rotten and the principal cause of the country's troubles." This comes too near to describing our own position to be pleasing reading.

THE silver wing of the Democratic party has received two set-backs during the past ten days. The New Hampshire Democratic State Convention administered the first set-back by overwhelmingly voting down resolutions endorsing the Chicago platform. This turning down of the Bryan wing was, however, not unexpected. But right upon the heels of the New Hampshire convention, the Democratic Wisconsin State Convention came together. It was firmly believed that the convention would vote to fuse with those Populists of Wisconsin who are silver men, first, last and all the time. But the Democratic politicians, counting up the chances of victory, deemed they would gain more votes by making a platform upon which gold Democrats could stand than they would lose by refusing to fuse with the Populists. So after a bitter fight the convention decided to cater to the gold Democrats, not the Populists. Verily we believe that by 1900 the gold wing of the Democratic party will be the largest. And then we will have two tickets standing for the interests of the moneyed oligarchy and fine opportunities for the party of the people to grow and prosper.

HE who loses money, loses much; he who loses a friend, loses more; but he who loses his spirits, loses all.—*Span.*

THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION

NOMINATES

WHARTON BARKER For President. IGNATIUS DONNELLY For Vice President.

DECLARES

The Independence of the Peoples Party, Reaffirms the Principles of Populism, Emblazons Upon Its Banners Its Mission: To Establish a Rule of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Its Motto: We Shall Carry Principles Into Office With Our Candidates, or We Care Not to Carry in the Men.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, September 6.—After a two days' session the Peoples Party National Convention, which met in this city on Monday, the 5th, pursuant to call of the National Organization Committee, Milton Park, chairman, adjourned this afternoon *sine die*, the convention having declared that the Peoples party was born to live not to die, that as an independent organization fighting for principles dear to all lovers of equality, liberty, fraternity, it should be preserved; having reaffirmed the principles of Populism and having nominated a Presidential ticket, subject to the approval of the "boys in the trenches," expressed through referendum vote, to be voted for in November, 1900. For President the convention nominated Wharton Barker of Pennsylvania by a vote of 128 4-5 to 117 1-5 for Ignatius Donnelly; for Vice-President the Hon. Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota was nominated by acclamation.

Assembling of the Convention.

The convention was called to meet in Lyceum Hall at 9.30 on Monday morning, Labor Day, but owing to the delay of several delegations on the railroads, consequent on the Grand Army rush, was nearly two hours late in assembling. In the absence of Chairman Park of the Organization Committee, who was detained in Texas by serious illness, Jo. A. Parker, of Kentucky, secretary of the committee, and acting upon the request of Mr. Park, called the convention to order. Mr. Parker briefly outlined the purpose of the Organization Committee in calling the convention, declaring that it was to offer to the rank and file of the Peoples party of the United States the opportunity to take such action as would preserve the integrity of the party as an independent organization.

Donnelly Called to the Chair.

Upon the conclusion of Mr. Parker's brief but pointed address, Mr. Donnelly, of Minnesota, was named for temporary chairman and unanimously chosen. Taking the chair, Mr. Donnelly thanked the convention for the honor it had bestowed and launched forth into a brilliant address in which he indicted Chairman Butler for his work in building up the Democratic party at the expense of the party whose interests he was, as National Chairman, in honor bound to protect, declared that Populists were not called upon to recognize one as National Chairman who recognized not the interests of his own party, but those of the Democratic party as paramount, demanded that the convention cut loose from Mr. Butler and his fusion committee and firmly announced his belief that if the convention would preserve the independence of the Peoples party it must nominate candidates for President and Vice-President who would hold up the banners of true Populism. By its acts as by its words, the convention should show its determination to keep the Peoples party alive.

The Illinois delegation that had been chosen by the State Central Committee of that state and instructed to oppose the

nomination of candidates, oppose the purpose for which the convention was called, showed evident but not vociferous displeasure with the address of Mr. Donnelly, which thoroughly harmonized with the prevalent chord of thought in the convention. At the conclusion of Mr. Donnelly's address Mr. Horace Merritt, of Tennessee, was chosen as temporary secretary and the convention proceeded to get down to the work at hand by instructing the chairman to appoint committees on credentials and on permanent organization and order of business. Pursuant to resolutions of the convention, Mr. Donnelly appointed the following committees.

On Credentials.

J. O. ZABEL, of Michigan. JO. A. PARKER, of Kentucky.
WHARTON BARKER, of Pennsylvania. J. W. PRUDE, of Mississippi.
JAMES H. FERRISS, of Illinois. J. F. FAIRCHILD, of Minnesota.

On Permanent Organization and Order of Business.

W. O. ATKESON, of Missouri. C. N. SMITH, of Indiana.
JAS. A. HOPP, of Illinois. E. T. BREWER, of Mississippi.
L. D. FOSTER, of Minnesota.

Upon the selection of these committees the convention took a recess until 2.30 o'clock.

On reassembling, the Committee on Credentials not being ready to report, the convention was entertained for half an hour with addresses by Bridgeford, of Kentucky; Atkeson, of Missouri; Burkitt, of Mississippi; Houghowatt, of Missouri. The latter gentleman was making a very vigorous address against fusion when taken off his feet to permit the Committee on Credentials to report. The report recommended that proxies of delegates duly chosen should be recognized whether held by gentlemen from the state of the delegates giving them or from other states. The committee further recommended that the delegates present from the different states should be permitted to cast the full vote to which their states were entitled. On motion of Mr. Palmer, of Illinois, the report was amended so that no proxy could be voted unless held by a citizen from the state of the delegate giving the proxy. As amended the report was adopted.

The Committee on Permanent Organization and Order of Business reported the name of Ignatius Donnelly for Permanent Chairman, and James Hopp, of Illinois, for Secretary. Mr. Donnelly strove to decline the honor declaring that it was his wish to be a member of the Committee on Resolutions. But the convention resolved that this should not be permitted to stand in the way of its choice and promptly answered Mr. Donnelly's objection by resolving that the Chairman of the convention should also be a member of the Committee on Resolutions. The report of the committee which further provided that the convention should proceed after the usual order of business was then adopted.

It was then resolved to proceed to the selection of Committees on Resolutions and Plan of Organization, and moved and carried that each state delegation choose one member to serve on each of these committees. A recess of five minutes was taken to enable the state delegations to confer. Under these resolutions the following committees were chosen:

Resolutions.

Florida, F. H. LYTLE, Mississippi, FRANK BURKITT,
Georgia, W. J. MCDANIEL, Ohio, JOHN PHALEN,
Illinois, RAY GOODWIN, Pennsylvania, WHARTON BARKER,
Indiana, O. L. ROSS, Tennessee, HORACE MERRITT,
Kentucky, JO. A. PARKER, Minnesota, IGNATIUS DONNELLY,
Michigan, JAMES E. MCBRIDE Missouri, W. O. ATKESON,
Arkansas, M. R. COFFMAN,

Plan of Organization.

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| Florida, J. R. P. WALL. | Mississippi, J. W. PRUDE. |
| Georgia, L. F. SELL. | Ohio, JOHN SEITZ. |
| Indiana, J. C. SMITH. | Missouri, HUGH TUDOR. |
| Illinois, THOMAS RATCLIFFE. | Pennsylvania, GEORGE MAIN. |
| Kentucky, J. S. BLOCKEN- BECKER. | Tennessee, C. B. ROGAN. |
| Michigan, JOHN O. ZABEL. | Minnesota, Dr. H. B. FAY. |

The convention then adjourned to meet on the morrow Tuesday, the 6th, at 9 o'clock A. M.

Convention Urged to Declare Its Independence.

Tuesday morning Mr. Donnelly called the convention to order. The Secretary read a letter addressed to Ignatius Donnelly from Ex-Gov. Waite, of Colorado, telling of the selection of himself and three others to represent the straight Populists of Colorado at the Cincinnati convention, deploring his inability to be present, appealing to the convention to take positive action such as would give assurance to all true Populists that the Peoples party would live as an independent party, not die by absorption into the Democratic, and calling for the creation of a new National Committee, true to the interests of the Peoples party.

Upon the conclusion of the reading of this letter, Mr. Donnelly asked the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions if his committee was ready to report. Mr. Barker, chairman of the committee, answered affirmatively and requested Mr. Donnelly to read the report to the convention from the chair. It was thereupon read and met with such earnest approval of the convention that Mr. Rahilly, of Minnesota, moved a vote of thanks to the man or men who had concocted such an able address to the Populists of the United States and a declaration of principles striking at once in the terseness and the logical sequence of its demands, a sequence seldom found in political platforms. Such motion was, however, postponed, the Chair suggesting that the first business in order was action upon the report of the committee. Later, Mr. Rahilly's motion was unanimously adopted.

Debate on Platform and Address.

Mr. Roth, of Illinois, offered an amendment to the address that would have destroyed its beautiful sequence and left it somewhat incongruous. The amendment amounted to an approval of the Henry George single-tax system, a system of taxation that had not the approval of a large part of the convention, it being felt that such a system would not lead to equitable taxation, that it would tax the dollars of the land rich but not the dollars of the bond rich, and Populists claim that all dollars shall be taxed equally. It was further opposed on the ground that Populists had no desire to thrust anything down the peoples throats that they might not approve, that the resolutions of the committee demanded the recognition of the principles of direct legislation as the first step in reform legislation, that under the initiative and referendum any economic policy could be presented squarely before the people for approval or the reverse, that in this way should questions such as the Henry George single tax system be settled, that if after such procedure and a direct vote of the people it was shown that such tax system was approved by the majority it would become the duty and pleasure of Populists, if in power, and as true believers in government by the people, to put such a system of taxation into effect. Such was the prevailing sentiment of the convention as disclosed, and the amendment of Mr. Roth, of Illinois, was voted down by a large majority.

Silver a Secondary Issue.

Mr. Foster, of Minn., renewed an objection to the report that he had made immediately upon the conclusion of the reading but that he was momentarily shut off from pressing because he was not ready with an amendment covering his objection. Mr. Foster felt that a reference in the address to the Democratic party as stealing one of the *leading* principles of Populism,

free silver, was open to misconception, that the question of silver remonetization was not a *leading* principle of the Populists but merely a step toward a leading principle, namely, the creation and maintenance of an honest measure of values. The committee reporting the resolutions raised no objection whatever to Mr. Foster's amendment to strike out the word *leading* and it was adopted without a dissenting voice. Thereupon the report of the Committee on Resolutions was unanimously adopted. As approved the address reads as follows:—

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Prosperity is the first right of a people.

The preamble of the Constitution of the United States declares the purpose of that instrument to be to "promote the general welfare";—in other words to enrich the people and make them happy.

Liberty is desired of all men, because it means equality of opportunity; and this means universal prosperity. Poverty, lacking liberty, is unable to defend itself against privilege.

All history is but a record of the struggles of mankind to rise to happiness in the face of misgovernment.

Labor in the ancient civilizations was but another name for slavery. All the workers in the forest, on the farm, in the shop and in the mine, were slaves.

The monuments of Egypt still rear their massive fronts to heaven, enduring testimony to the enormities of injustice inflicted upon the workmen who built them.

The producers of the wealth of Greece and Rome were denied happiness in life and heaven in death. They were regarded as soulless beings, forbidden to be present at the religious mysteries, and refused even the rites of sepulture.

Their degraded estate was branded in their very faces; and when they became too numerous for their masters' safety they were slaughtered by thousands.

The fact that they belonged to the same race, and even to the same families, as their owners, did not in the least mitigate their sufferings. Nor was it considered any argument in behalf of the poor creatures that their outlawed caste had given birth to great geniuses and commanders, like Aesop, Probus, Vitellius, Diocletian, and even Augustus Caesar.

The producers of all food were hungry; the creators of all wealth were paupers, the manufacturers of all clothing were naked, the forgers of all weapons were defenseless.

Out of their very faith in God were welded the chains that rendered them helpless; for they feared the denial of the sacred rites of sepulture more than they feared death itself; and the baseless hopes of future bliss, in a Pagan Heaven, were received by them as an equivalent for a life of continuous misery on earth.

When these wretched beings, unable longer to bear the incalculable sufferings, broke out in great insurrections, under Spartacus, Eunus, Athenion and others, more than a million of them were crucified and left to rot on the public highways.

The birth of the Christian religion was the first break of light amid the gloomy horrors of this awful spectacle. It came as an outburst from the debts of the oppressed and servile class. Its founder was a mechanic; his apostles fishermen. It preached to the multitude equality and universal brotherhood, the immortality of the soul, and the love of a heavenly Father. It scourged the money changers out of the temple and consigned the wicked rich to the tortures of an eternal hell.

The growth of Christianity was a successful insurrection of the poor and was adopted by the great, only after it had embraced the great body of the people. It gradually abolished slavery, mitigated the evils of human selfishness and lifted up all mankind.

The next great step in this preordained advancement, was the voyage of Columbus, and the transfer of the best blood of the old world to the shores of the new. A flood of poor, hungry men struggled across the Atlantic, and on terms of perfect equality and filled with the positive demands of liberty, spread themselves over the virgin land, kept void of inhabitants, therefore, by the providence of God.

Then began a process of splendid development for which the previous experience of mankind had afforded no parallel. The genius of humanity cast away its chains, and stepped forward into the light with a continent for an arena, surrounded by the glorious effulgence of universal prosperity.

All who stood before it went down and resistance was but a stepping stone to nobler heights of development. The dreams of the poets and sages of antiquity were realized, and a govern-

ment of equal rights and human brotherhood, enlightened by universal education rose like a mountain before the gaze of the astonished world.

From the Atlantic to the Mississippi the forests were brushed away, and endless gardens and magnificent cities covered the land. The bodies and the minds of men were enlarged to nobler proportions, and all the magnificent qualities of the human soul shone forth with resplendent lustre.

But the width of the Atlantic had not changed human nature. Into this Paradise the old serpent of injustice intruded himself. He took possession of the garden and drove the toiler from beneath his vine and fig tree. He changed the lovely scene into an abode of unhappiness, filled with lamentations.

The census of 1890 showed that one-fourth of the dwellers in this land of free homes had become tenants. While population had in ten years increased 25 per cent., and wealth 45 per cent., the mortgaged indebtedness, on the homes of the people, had, in the period, advanced 156 per cent. The farm owning families, despite the homestead law, had increased but 2½ per cent., while the tenants of land had increased 40½ per cent.

It was shown by that census, that 4,047 families owned \$12,000,000,000 of the wealth of the whole country. In other words, three one hundredths of one per cent. of the people owned one-fifth of all the wealth, 9 per cent. of the people owned 71 per cent. of the entire property of the country, while the remaining 91 per cent. owned but 29 per cent. of the wealth. Bankruptcy, suicide and insanity had grown beyond all precedent.

These facts struck terror to the souls of all thinking people. They asked themselves if less than one hundred years of national life, starting from an ideal condition of equality, under the noblest institutions ever known to man, had produced these terrible results, what would another hundred years bring forth!

They perceived that the great American people were rapidly becoming landless, homeless and hopeless.

They beheld the birth of that product of modern times—the corporation—an artificial creature, unknown to the ancient world; a demon possessed of all the attributes of God's creatures, but clothed with immortal life and boundless power. They saw it rise in a few generations from nothingness to the control of Congress, state legislatures, municipal governments, the avenues of public opinion, and all the instrumentalities of production and transportation. They saw it a government within the government—levying taxes and collecting revenues never voted by the people. They saw it lessening the opportunities of labor; driving the farmer from his farm and the workman from his bench, concentrating the earth's surface in the hands of a few and consigning the toiler to change and starvation.

Thoughtful men looked down the vista of the future and saw the people returning to the awful conditions of pre-Christian slavery. To the evil rich Christ had become but a name; the horrid image of Moloch displaced the gentle Nazarene in the hearts of the rulers of the world.

Appalled by the revelations of the census of 1890 the friends of mankind assembled in this city of Cincinnati on the 19th and 20th days of May, 1891, in a convention of 1,418 delegates from 32 states, and with vast enthusiasm and complete unanimity established the Peoples party of the United States.

They adjourned until February 22d, 1892, to meet at St. Louis, a great assemblage, representing all the extensive labor organizations of farmers and mechanics, including those which met in St. Louis in 1889; the Ocala conference of 1890, and the Omaha assemblage of the Northwestern Alliance held in 1891.

It was there unanimously resolved that a new party should be established; the call was issued for a delegate convention, to be held at Omaha, on the 4th of July, 1892, to place in nomination candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency.

The slowly gathering discontent, extending over many years, found voice at last in the preamble and resolutions of that convention.

They built the new party upon the broadest and grandest principles. They declared that "wealth belongs to him that creates it," and that "every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery." They announced that "the interests of rural and civic labor, are the same, their enemies identical."

They declared:

"The conditions that surround us justify our co-operation; we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized, in most of the states

have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places in order to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are subsidized, public opinion silenced; business prostrated; our homes covered with mortgages; labor impoverished and the land concentrating in the hands of capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection; imported, pauperized labor, beats down their wages; a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toils of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes, unprecedented in the history of mankind, and the possessors of these in turn despise the Republic and endanger liberty. From the prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed two great classes—tramps and millionaires."

They denounced both the old parties as equally responsible for the terrible condition of the people. The platform said:

"We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the great parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon a suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious efforts to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed to ignore in the coming campaign every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stocks, the demonetization of silver, and the oppression of the usurers, may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes and children on the altar of Mammon, to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires."

Upon this platform, with its familiar concluding demands, we went before the people, and, after four months campaign, we polled 1,055,424 votes, and carried four states and partially two more, receiving altogether twenty-two electoral votes. The Democrats won in the contest and elected Grover Cleveland President by 277 electoral votes, against 145 for Benjamin Harrison. In the campaign both the old parties kept up their "sham battle" over the tariff and studiously ignored the great issues raised by the peoples party.

In 1893 the Omaha platform received striking corroboration from the terrible panic which fell upon the country, sweeping away banks and business, and plunging millions into bankruptcy. Mr. Cleveland's panacea of free trade did not relieve the sufferings of the people. In the elections of 1894 the Democratic party was generally repudiated, and it became apparent that that venerable organization must find new issues or be borne to its everlasting resting place. There did not seem to be a state it was certain to carry in 1896.

The Peoples party vote in 1894 and 1895 rose to nearly 2,000,000, and everything indicated its speedy national triumph.

In this emergency the Democratic party saw that it had no resource but to steal one of the principles of the despised Populists, and after having persistently opposed the remonetization of silver, in Congress, and defeating a dozen bills, looking to that end, it changed front, in the twinkling of an eye, and in the Chicago convention of 1896, in a prearranged, theatrical scene of great uproar and enthusiasm, moved to the front as the devoted and life long champion of that which it had ever opposed.

Having stolen one of the principles of our platform it became necessary to steel our votes, and break up our organization. Hence, when the Peoples Party National Convention met, a tremendous pressure was brought to bear upon it, to do what no political party had ever done in the history of our country; to wit, to nominate the candidates of another party for President and Vice-President and stop in mid career of its own tremendous growth, and tie itself to the doubtful fortunes and still more doubtful sincerity of a rival organization.

In vain it was urged upon the Convention that if we maintained our separate existence and nominated our own candidates, we could still unite with any other party, in support of a joint electoral ticket in every state.

If this plan had been adopted the Republican party would surely have been defeated, but Democracy insisted that the battle must be won under their banner. Hence our noble candidate for Vice-President was ostracised and pushed aside, in behalf of a man whose every principle was in fundamental antagonism to the creed of our party, and our organization with its 22 electoral votes and nearly 2,000,000 voters was ignored and spat upon. Our nomination was thrown back in our faces by a telegram from

the gentleman we had nominated; we were denied all recognition. The telegram of declination was not produced, but our votes were carefully exploited in the election which followed.

By an extraordinary calamity a gentleman was made Chairman of our National Committee and commander in chief of our forces, who had achieved success by a combination with Republicans; and who was ready to equalize things by sacrificing our party to accomplish another unholy union with the Democrats.

He preached disintegration and demoralization, just as Benedict Arnold stipulated for the scattering of the American forces, that the British might the more readily overthrow the young republic. Mr. Butler taught our forces the first duty of a soldier was to break ranks and go over to the enemy. It was as if General Miles had issued orders to our troops at Santiago to tear down the American flag and merge into the Spaniards,—because we all thought alike on the question of God and the immortality of the soul.

All efforts to chain the boundless subtlety of this cunning man had been in vain. As late as August 25, 1898, in a speech at Denver, Colorado, despite all previous compacts and promises, he urged all friends of free silver to act together, and he denounced those who were "trying to divide its friends because they differed on other questions." And yet he well knew that the Republicans and Prohibitionists of Colorado and all the Western states were also in favor of free silver, and that there was just as much reason to unite with them as with the Democrats. He also knew that where a smaller and weaker party unites with a greater and stronger it is the inevitable union of the lion and the lamb. He knew that the experiment had nearly obliterated the Peoples party in several states and that he was leading the rest of those who trusted him into the abyss where reposed the mouldering bones of the Greenback party. He well knew that the free silver issue was but one of many planks of the Peoples party, and while desirable in itself could not bring the people relief if corporate power was to continue to rule the nation and plunder unchecked the industry of the land.

Our chief battle is not against the demonetization of one metal for the benefit of another, but against the chaining of the world's progress to the car wheels of a prehistoric superstition, in the shape of both metals. The growth of population and the happiness of mankind are thus made contingent upon accidental discoveries of two intrinsically worthless metals. The whole adoration of gold and silver is but a survival of Pagan barbarism, more deadly in its effects than slavery, polygamy and witchcraft.

While it is conceded that money is a governmental measure of value, and consists not in its material but in the stamp of the nation, the whole world is to-day held in check by a system of gold barter, while enterprise languishes, industry suffers, and cemeteries are becoming populous with the bodies of bankrupts and suicides. Recognizing that a terrible emergency requires desperate remedies, and that we must appeal to the highest qualities of the human mind and heart and not in degrading "dickers" and trades of scrambling politicians, we cast aside all precedents and go directly to the people. We commence anew the campaign of education which gave us, in the first two years of our existence, nearly 2,000,000 votes.

We believe the soul is bigger than the pocket book. We address ourselves to the reason of men and their love of country. We have nothing but kind words for Democrats and Republicans, individually. We beg them to join our ranks and help us fight the battles of mankind. For those, who, eager for immediate results, have innocently left us, and merged with the enemy, and helped on our demoralization, we extend the open arms of invitation and reconciliation. We ask them for the sake of the great truths which fired their hearts in 1892, to be with us in 1898 and for ever after. If the birth of our party was demanded by events six years ago, circumstances clamor in thunder tones for its continuance to-day. The whole experiment of self-government is at stake. We are about to add to our population as many millions of alien and strange people as our whole voting force amounts to; and no one can say how soon these will be dragged to the ballot box by the money power to bury our liberties in universal ruin.

By all the dreadful past of the world, by the memory of all the millions who ended lives of miserable enslavement in degraded graves, by the teachings and sacrifices of the martyred Christ, by the sufferings of the great revolution that made us a nation, by all the hopes of humanity, all over this round globe, we implore our fellow citizens to unite with us, in one grand effort to build up a reform party that will liberate mankind.

Our hearts go out to the wretched and oppressed of the whole world, and if placed in power in this country we shall try to so act as to help all mankind.

Platform of the Revivified Peoples Party.

As a fundamental step to the preservation of our endangered liberties we demand that the reign of corruption shall cease in our legislative halls, by the establishment of direct legislation. We must shorten the plow handles of government, by bringing the legislator closer to his principals—so close that no lobbyist can intrude between them. Through the initiative and referendum all moral and political questions can be submitted to a fair and impartial vote of the people, and if adopted by a majority of the voters become the law of the land.

While we demand that if either gold or silver is to be used as money both shall be so used, we insist that the best currency this country ever possessed was the full legal tender greenback of the civil war. And we look forward with hope to the day when gold shall be relegated to the arts of the country and the human family possess, free of tribute to bankers, a governmental full legal measure of value, made of paper, that will expand side by side with the growth of wealth and population. Then, and only then, will the people realize the full benefits of civilization and the world be made a garden of delights for mankind.

We call attention to the public school system and the postal service as exemplifications of a beneficent state socialism, which our people would only relinquish with their lives. And we demand that the carrying of messages written with pen and ink be amplified to embrace messages written by electricity, and that the train of cars which carries our letters be owned by the government to carry those who wrote the letters. No other reforms will avail much if corporations are permitted to say how much they shall take from the producers and how much they will leave them. This is taxation without representation in its worst form. It is the disgrace of our Republic that foreign despoticisms have defended the right of the people in these particulars, while corruption has made self-government a helpless failure in this land. We believe in the collective ownership of those means of production and distribution which the people may elect, such as railways, telegraphs, telephones, coal mines, etc.

We are opposed to individuals or corporations fastening themselves, like vampires, on the people, and sucking their substance; and we demand that whatever can be better done by government for the enrichment of the many shall not be turned over to individuals for the aggrandizement of the few.

Hence, we insist that banks have no more right to create our money than they would have to organize our army or pass our laws.

We reaffirm the fundamental principles of the Omaha platform and declare it to be the immutable creed of our party, coeval with it in birth and filled with the spirit that launched it on its grand career. It must not be whittled away or traded off for offices. The man who proposed to do this is an enemy of mankind, he would sell the kingdom of Heaven for a mess of pottage.

In order to maintain the liberties of the people we must preserve their homes, and we therefore demand laws in the several states exempting the homes of the people from taxation absolutely in a sum not less than \$2,000, and a personal property exemption of not less than \$300 to each head of a family. To make up for this reduction of taxation we favor an income, inheritance and other like taxes.

"With malice towards none, with charity to all, with devotion to the right as God gives us to see the right," we commit our cause to the hearts and consciences of the American People.

Upon the adoption of the report of the Committee on Resolutions, Chairman Donnelly called for the report of the Committee on Plan of Organization. Dr. Fay, of Minnesota, secretary of the committee, took the platform and read the report which laid special stress on the initiative and referendum and set forth rules for party government giving recognition to such principles.

Efforts to Destroy the Movement for Rebuilding the Peoples Party.

The report was adopted without amendment, but laid before the convention again to give Mr. McBride, of Michigan, the opportunity to present a resolution, the purpose of which was to make the adoption of these rules, these plans for party government, this report for the organization of the Peoples party on independent lines conditional on the approval of both the National Committee, Butler Committee, and the Organization Committee in whose name the call for the convention was issued. It was felt that the adoption of such amendment would give to Mr.

Butler the opportunity to thwart the work of the convention, defeat the efforts making to preserve the independence of the Peoples party. It was pointed out that the adoption of such amendment would be an admission that the authority of the Butler National Committee was superior to the authority of the convention, it was felt that it would be placing the work of the convention, the work to preserve the independence of the Peoples party in the hands of fusionists to undo. Dr. Fay, of Minnesota, brought out this point by moving an amendment to the amendment to refer the rules for party organization to the national committees of all the old parties. The amendment was offered merely to make a point and was not pressed.

Convention Refuses to be Tricked Into Acknowledging Dependence on the Butler Committee and So Destroying Itself.

The supporters of Mr. McBride's resolution, who were numerous in the Illinois delegation, strove to make the point of inconsistency against those who took the floor to oppose the resolution. It was insisted by Ferriss and Palmer and Hopp and Mrs. Walker, of Illinois, that the convention had specifically endorsed the principles of the referendum and now proposed to go back upon those principles by refusing to give them application. But the point did not weigh with the members of the convention who believed in carrying out the purposes for which the convention was called, for they felt that to refer resolutions passed by a convention of the people to a national committee one further step more distant from the people would be to make the principles of direct legislation, which means rule by the people, ridiculous; they felt that the work of the convention, of all conventions, should be referred to the people, to the boys in the trenches, not to representatives of the people on a national committee. And to this feeling the convention later gave expression.

So the arguments of the supporters of the McBride motion did not weigh, and a motion of Mr. Zabel, of Michigan, to lay the motion on the table prevailed upon a roll call by states by a vote 210 $\frac{1}{3}$ to 76 $\frac{2}{3}$, whereupon the report of the Committee on Plan of Organization was approved. We shall publish this plan in a later issue.

Jo. A. Parker, of Kentucky, who had lent his support to Mr. McBride's motion, moved, upon its defeat, an adjournment, that did not prevail, whereupon Mr. Houghowatt, of Missouri, moved to proceed to make nominations for President and Vice-President. Mr. Parker spoke against the motion, and several motions were made to delay action but without avail, Mr. Houghowatt, of Missouri, moving the previous question on his resolution which was carried by a rising vote of 3 to 2. The question was then put on the adoption of Mr. Houghowatt's motion for the call of states for the making of nominations and carried by a vote of 146 to 101.

Further motions as to manner of making nominations and as to giving the people a voice in the selection of candidates by applying the referendum principles were then made but received with impatience by many in the convention who felt that they were nothing but moves to delay and defeat the will of the majority of the convention. So feeling, Dr. Fay, of Minn., moved the previous question which carried by a rising vote, the noes being so evidently in the minority as not to be counted. Chairman Palmer, of Ills., then rose to make an explanation of Illinois' position, prior to leaving the convention as he had frankly declared he would do if it proceeded to do what it was called upon to do, namely, nominate candidates. But Dr. Fay standing on his rights under the motion to cut off debate refused unanimous consent to give Mr. Palmer a hearing, whereupon Mr. Palmer and that part of the Illinois delegation that had been appointed by the State Committee, together with a few other delegates from other states left the hall with unseemly noise. Mr. Burton of the Twenty-first Congressional District of Illinois, and who had been chosen delegate by the Congressional Conven-

tion of his district, and over the opposition of Chairman Palmer, remained in the hall.

Barker and Donnelly Nominated.

The call of states for the presentation of candidates was then proceeded with. Mr. Rahilly, of Minnesota, presented the name of Ignatius Donnelly; Dr. Fay, of the same state, and Mr. Burton, of Illinois, seconded the nomination. Florida yielding to Michigan, Mr. Fogg, of the latter state, presented the name of Wharton Barker, of Pennsylvania; Mr. McDaniel, of Georgia, and Mr. Rogan, of Tennessee, seconding the nomination. Mr. Houghowatt, of Missouri, presented the name of Captain Frank Burkitt, of Mississippi, but the gallant captain declined. Nominations being declared closed, the roll was called by states and resulted in 128 4-5 votes for Barker and 117 1-5 votes for Donnelly, whereupon Mr. Donnelly moved to make the nomination unanimous, and Wharton Barker, of Pennsylvania, was declared to be the nominee of the convention for President of the United States.

The nomination of a candidate for Vice-President being in order, Dr. Fay, of Minnesota, presented the name of Ignatius Donnelly, whereupon the nomination was made by acclamation.

Mr. Donnelly responded accepting the nomination and pledging his best efforts to promote the welfare of the Peoples party, and Mr. Barker, called to the platform, responded in like tone.

Convention Refers Its Work to the Rank and File.

Capt. Burkitt, of Mississippi, then took the floor to move the following resolutions, which, earnestly supported by both the candidates for President and Vice-President, were adopted. The resolutions read as follows:

WHEREAS, The sole object of this convention has been and is to secure to the rank and file of the Peoples party an absolute certainty that a straight Populist ticket on a straight Populist platform should be presented to them in 1900. Therefore

Resolved, That the ticket nominated here to-day is subject to a referendum vote of the Populists of the United States.

Resolved, Second, that the referendum vote above referred to shall be taken in accordance with the plan provided in the report of the Committee on Plan of Organization made to this convention.

Capt. Burkitt further took the platform to read a letter from Col. Milton Park, of Texas, to Gen. Phillips, of Georgia, a letter written in response to one making certain suggestions as to the Cincinnati Convention. The letter of Mr. Park, forwarded to Capt. Burkitt, is self explanatory.

Milton Park with the Movement Heart and Head.

DALLAS, TEXAS, Sept. 1, 1898.

MY DEAR GENERAL PHILLIPS:

Your favor of 26th. just to hand and finds me just recovering from a severe attack of bilious malarial fever. I am able only to be up three or four hours in the cool part of the day. My physician tells me that it will not do for me to venture out for at least a week and then I must be quite cautious to avoid a relapse. I regret it greatly that I can not be with you all at Cincinnati, for I can assure you I am with you *heart and head*. I do hope you will act wisely and firmly and take such steps as will keep the Populist banner floating in spite of Butler and his designing tricksters. Jo Parker has been down here and knows the sentiment of our people. I honestly believe not one in fifty Populists in Texas will fail to line up with straight Populism whenever the call is made. Butler's speech at the recent encampment at Greenville, Texas, fell flat—barely a cheer in the vast audience. He left immediately without saying a word to me, though he had written me that he especially desired to meet me there. At our Congressional convention recently held in this city ringing resolutions were endorsed condemning national fusion, and a delegation was elected to at-

tend the Cincinnati meeting. How many of them will go I am unable to say, as money is extremely scarce and the fare to Cincinnati and return from Texas is \$25, exclusive of board and lodging and other expenses. Money is tighter here in Texas than it has ever been. Our people have not sold any cotton yet, hence their inability to attend the meeting. Under ordinary conditions we would have a delegation of 100 or more on hand, for I can assure you we have but one kind of Populists in Texas. I want you to represent me in any and everything. You are hereby authorized to speak and act for me in everything that may come up at the Cincinnati meeting and affix my name to any call, proclamation, manifesto or publication you see fit, for I have implicit confidence in your judgment and political sagacity. I also enclose two proxies sent me from Oregon which you will use as you see proper. I purpose sending this letter by O. F. Dornblaser, a straight Populist, who will give you the conditions as they exist in Texas. Please explain to the boys why I am not present. I can assure you nothing but physical inability prevents me from being with you all. Post me fully on the proceedings, and whatever you and the convention may direct me to do will be done faithfully, fully and fearlessly.

Yours for the right,

MILTON PARK.

I have just learned that Frank Burkitt will be on hand. If so, tell him I am with him to the bitter end.

The convention then proceeded to the work of creating a new National Committee by electing Milton Park as Chairman, whereupon a motion was made and carried that the state delegations confer with a view to the appointment of members of the National Committee. It was further resolved "That it is the sense of this convention that the members of the Organization Committee in states not represented here shall be recognized by the National Committee this day selected; provided said members are not objectionable to the state or states they may represent." The convention further resolved "to give the National Committee, besides its ordinary duties, full power to act regarding every legal complication arising regarding the party standing" and passing a motion of thanks to the honored Chairman the convention, at 5 o'clock on Thursday, September 6th, adjourned, *sine die*.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

LABOR COPARTNERSHIP. By Henry Demarest Lloyd. Pp. 351; illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.

THE PATERNAL STATE IN FRANCE AND GERMANY. By Henry Gaulieur. Pp. 225. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.25.

WAITING FOR THE SIGNAL. A novel. By Henry O. Morris. Pp. 407. Chicago: The Schulte Publishing Co.

THE SUCCESS OF A FAILURE. By J. H. Lincoln. Pp. 179. Omaha, Neb.: Vincent Publishing Co. 25 cents.

A poet, that is to say, a writer of verse, complains that a "poem" of his, reprinted in one of the Sunday papers, was credited to the magazine in which it had first appeared, but his name as author was purposely omitted. There is as much reason in his protest as there was meanness in the omission, and that is saying a good deal. Most poets, and prosers too, regard their names as trademarks having a commercial value. It is rather a humble position to take to let the mark push the goods, rather than trust to the quality to make its own way, but everyone to his taste. Now, it so happens that this particular poet's name is totally strange to us, and has neither value nor meaning, but his unsigned poem might strike us as having both in high degree. Why not trust to quality?

Some time ago we ventured some criticism on the way some papers have of "reviewing" books by disembowelling them. A high-class journal devotes about fifty lines to the new book, "Washington After the Revolution," and follows this introduction up by filling seven long columns with the cream of the contents, taken bodily from the book. To the frugal-minded reader this is ideal reviewing. Authors and publishers may possibly see it in a different light. The golden mean would leave them a margin for much desired sales.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Old World Genius in New World Shrines.

A Dream of John Ball. Being an Idyll in Prose By WILLIAM MORRIS. East Aurora, N. Y.: Elbert Hubbard, the Roycroft Printing Shop. \$2. *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam,* Fitz Gerald's Translation; with the Address of HON. JOHN HAY, Ambassador to England, delivered at the Omar Khayyam Club, London. Same Publisher. \$2.

No true-born book lover will want any apology for giving these exquisite volumes precedence over the literary genius they enshrine. When Byron sneered, "a book's a book although there's nothing in't," he was not thinking how near to the literal truth these Roycroft artists would stretch his words. Keats might have had them in prophetic mind when he blazoned the art-truism that any thing of beauty is a joy of itself; how much more so a beautiful creature that charms, and talks, and sings, soul companion and cheerer in all distresses and moods, ever the same in temper, ever faithful and willing, and does all this for us so silently. These Roycroft books would be books indeed if never a letter of type forced the brain into exercise when rapt in mere ecstasy of restful joy. No offence intended to the noble clans of writers and printers, but there come times to the surfeited mind, what remains of it, when the contemplation of a book with nothing in it would be a joy supreme.

How awe-inspiring is the sheet of white paper one sits down to sully with ink. Its infinite possibilities, the priceless worth of its speechless eloquence, thoughts like these rise up and would stifle the presumption of the paper-stainer if he did not speedily close his mind's-eye to sentiment and cast it instead on practical considerations. Most literally these volumes win the reader by the thoroughly booky charm of their apparel. Christmas book-stalls show us a gallant array of books that are no books, gay deceivers masquerading in literary garb. These Roycroft productions share the spirit and outer graces of the writings within, and this is perfection of bookmaking. Before passing to the contents we gladly make space for a tribute from a prince among book lovers, whose love for the reading was intensified when its dignity was fitly exalted by noble type and ink and paper. Mr. Gladstone's reverence—not too strong a word—for a fine old tome showed his true art instinct, and Mr. Hubbard may as an American craftsman, be proud of these words from Hawarden, written so lately as last September. "The Roycroft books are a delight, and I am showing them to my friends with intent to prove that the world moves. And in moving backwards to the time of those early Venetian printers, who made such beautiful books while Columbus was discovering America, you have done well. I cannot say you have improved on the Venetians, but you have nearly equalled them."

The late William Morris was something more than an English socialist and poet. His profound sympathy with the under million never found more beautiful expression than in this fantasy, told in grandly simple English. John Ball, it may be as well to remind the reader, was the fiery but jovial Kentish priest who first preached the natural equality and rights of man. He was the first Populist, after the Founder died, A. D. 33, to leave his mark on England, where he lived his valiant life at the close of the fourteenth century. John Ball it was who asked,

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?

"Good people," said this exceedingly liberal cleric, "things will never be well in England so long as goods be not in common. By what right are they whom we call lords greater folk than we? Why do they hold us in serfage?" Morris, in his dream, gives a touching picture of the state of England's poor, and makes the dreamer give encouragement to their priest-champion in these words: "John Ball, be of good cheer; for once more thou knowest, as I know, that the Fellowship of Men shall endure, however many tribulations it may have to wear through. Look you, a while ago was the light bright about us; but it was because of the moon, and the night was deep notwithstanding, and when the moonlight waned and died and there was but a little glimmer in place of the bright light, yet was the world glad, because all things knew that the glimmer was of day and not of night. Lo, you, an image of the times to betide the hope of the Fellowship of Men."

Ambassador Hay's felicitous address to the Omarians won golden opinions from all sides. It was a happy thought to honor him by this most charming marriage of his prose to Fitzgerald's verse, to the praise and glory of the grand old Pagan. A better

combination of literary and bookmaking art there could not be. The green and gold rough chamois covers, satin lined, enhance the stateliness of the hand initialled verses.

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History as Interpreting Current Events.

History of Modern Europe. By FERDINAND SCHWILL. With maps and genealogical tables. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50 net.

Educational books are supposed to have no charm for the general reader. The prejudice against them has been of their own creation. It is not necessary to hark back to the dry compilations of thirty years ago, before writers like J. R. Green showed how history could be told with all the interest of a living romance. In no direction has there been more striking progress than in the making of text-books for students. The present volume is likely to rank as one of the very best, in truth it is hard to see in what it could be bettered, of its class. Several reasons can be given for this judgment. It follows the joint work on "Europe in the Middle Age," by Profs. Thatcher and Schwill, of the University of Chicago, which was at once accepted as an ideally good book for its purpose. The present takes up the history from 1492, bringing it up to date, and for a single volume of moderate size we do not know of any which combines so many important features so effectively. A text-book it certainly is, shaped to help college students, but for our purpose it is also a first-rate piece of solid historical work, worthy to be commended to the general reader as much for its clear and simple manner as for the admirable arrangement of its complex materials. These are days when such a reference book is a necessary companion to the daily newspaper. Prof. Schwill's epitome of the earlier acts of the world-drama whose tableaux we never weary of watching will be found satisfactory and a good deal more. The development of the nations is, of course, treated in the usual chronological order, but underlying principles are shrewdly traced, with the purpose of creating and fixing in the reader's mind a clear and sound conception of what history is and means. It requires a gift of no ordinary school-book authorship to produce so enjoyable a survey without sacrificing essential details. The work divides itself into three periods, of which the first includes the Reformation 1517-1648; the second begins with 1648, the era of absolutism and dynastic wars, closing with the dawn of the French Revolution. The third period includes the political revolutions and reconstructions from 1789 to the Congress of Berlin, 1878. An excellent introduction covers the new life awakened in the sixteenth century. There are nine colored maps illustrating these periods, several pages of chronological and genealogical tables, a good index and topical margin notes. Altogether it is a remarkably perfect book from every point of view, open to minor criticisms in matters of opinion but sound in facts and main conclusions.

The Introduction charms like an epic, simple, swift in movement, summing great deeds in a few graphic words. Touching on the Spanish voyages to the unknown West, with the colonizations that followed, we read: "Mexico was won for the Spaniards by the great conqueror, Cortez, and Peru acquired by Pizarro. The plain facts of these two conquests make many a mediæval adventure of Arthur's Knights and Charlemagne's paladins drop by comparison to the level of bare prose. . . . The conquest of Peru is a . . . romantic story of difficulties faced with equanimity of revolting crime against innocent and peaceful natives, of stout endurance and heroism. . . . The exact figures of Pizarro's army are the most significant comment on his surprising conquest of Peru. He had one hundred and sixty-eight foot-soldiers and sixty-seven horsemen." There is life in this mode of condensing history and fixing clear impressions.

In view of present advances and aims in social and political methods it is interesting to be reminded of a noble pioneer, one born out of due season. Of Sir Thomas More the author says this:

"Dear as he held the reform of life and religion he was no less desirous of bringing about a reform of the state. In his famous book *Utopia*, the Kingdom of Nowhere, 1516, he exhibits a view of a well ordered society. It is not a serious charge against the work that it is impractical, since it does not pretend to anything more than the presentation of an ideal toward which government and society ought to advance. Justice, reason, intelligence, freedom and equality are the pillars of More's visionary kingdom, and by exhibiting the delightfulness of a life established upon such a basis, he brought sharply to the minds of his contemporaries the shortcomings of the kingdoms of which they formed a part. The *Utopia* is a comprehensive socialistic programme, dictated by a generous love and pity of the poor and heavy laden, and it is encouraging to observe that many of its demands have been realized by the progress of centuries. In Utopia education was general; there were wise sanitary provisions and

clean, broad streets; criminals were treated with kindness and won back to order by effective instruction; religious tolerance was established as a state maxim. More than this, there was in force a state of things which tallies largely with the expectations of our modern socialists. Something like their eight-hour labor law, for instance, was realized in Utopia."

While Prof. Schwill is able to speak so approvingly of what used not so long ago to be sneered at as Utopian ideas, it is unphilosophic of him to append this purely personal and uncalled for fling at those whose uphill labors have made so much of More's dream a practical reality. "Other and more fantastic demands form the substance of the platform of the socialists of to-day." Prof. Schwill must bear with the reminder that his office is that of a recorder of past history, which makes it an impertinence for him to pose as a dogmatic instructor upon matters so far out of his province as social reforms involved in party politics. Having so handsomely demonstrated how the "fantastic demands" of yesterday become the accepted standards of tomorrow, he is short-sighted to imperil his title to dignified impartiality by basing foolish predictions on inconsistent prejudice.

Another heroic figure, that of Cromwell, is worthily depicted. "Oliver Cromwell is one of those surprising characters who sum up in themselves a whole period of their nation's history. With firmness and strength he coupled an extraordinary amount of practical good sense, which enabled him to see things exactly as they were." His protectorate gave England glory and power abroad, but at home "the great principle of toleration for which Oliver stood had made no progress. His idea had been to give all Protestants the protection of the law. But the fierce religious temper of the time hindered the majority from seeing any right outside of their own faith, or feeling any obligation to put up with any other. Oliver, like all men who are ahead of their time, was left without support," and before long he became a persecutor himself. When the author states that the literature of the Restoration "quickly buried" the literary reign of Milton, Bunyan, and the nobler Puritan writers, "under its frivolity and laughter," it would have been better to have made the passage more comprehensive by the addition of a few lines. And in mentioning the founding of the Royal Society for the promotion of scientific investigation, credit should have been given to the Merry Monarch.

The rise of Russia as a great nation is well presented and tempts quotation. Also the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era, and the war with Germany. The consolidation of the German Empire by Bismarck, and, in fact, each of the great movements, diplomatic and military, are handled with admirable lucidity and general breadth of view. How serviceable the book can be as an aid to the full understanding of contemporary events may be illustrated by the paragraph which follows the Congress of Berlin and the changes in the Balkan states since 1881. These are described as "buffer" states, the descriptive word being quoted. It might advantageously have been explained as the English term for the iron springs, which we call bumpers, that break the force of a collision. Thus Roumania, Servia and Bulgaria were made independent by the Berlin Congress that they might serve as buffers between Russia and Turkey. Russia was thereby "damaged in prestige and shorn of her triumphs, and has ever since looked upon the Berlin settlement with wrath and indignation." Then follows the paragraph, which bears on the swift changing attitude of Russia to-day towards England, in their Asiatic spheres of influence. "If by means of the three wars she has waged against Turkey since the Congress of Vienna she has made considerable acquisitions from that country, she has fared still better in another quarter. In central and eastern Asia she has had no very important foe to face, and has, in consequence, by a system of gradual encroachments, added to Siberia a great number of border provinces. The Russian bear, therefore, is now a close neighbor of the English in India, and of the Chinese, and there is no saying whether he will put an end to his Asiatic foraging at their respective confines. The chances rather are that he will not." Perhaps this is another rash venture to the brink of extraneous subjects for a gowned historian to make; it shows how thin is the line which nowadays divides literature from journalism, too thin to prevent up-to-date expositors from skipping out of fact into speculation, but the peril, if it is one, undoubtedly increases the immediate utility of the book to the reader, irrespective of the soundness or otherwise of the author's views on the outlook.

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ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

Israel Zangwill, whose "King of the Schnorrers" and "Children of the Ghetto" made him famous among modern and distinctively Jewish writers, is now in New York. His lecturing tour may be more successful than were those of last year's English authors, because he has wit, humor and fresh subjects. His foible is trying to be over-brilliant, but it is not so objectionable on the platform as in a story book.

Jules Verne has the nerve to announce that he has written "the" continuation and conclusion of Poe's "Adventures of Arthur Gordon Pym." The point of this doubtless lies in his dedication of the book to his American admirers. The history of sequels to famous books, done by ambitious writers unrelated to the original authors, is not encouraging to purchasers. These things deserve to fail.

The late Charles Dickens, the younger, in collaboration with Wilkie Collins, attempted a sequel to his father's unfinished novel, "Edwin Drood." They called it "John Jasper's Secret." It failed, as did several other sequels, including one from spirit-land through a medium. Those curious in this direction will soon be able to read this Drood-Jasper book, which is soon to be reprinted by R. F. Fenno & Co. after being out of print twenty years.

Mark Twain says he hopes to be famous for his serious, rather than his humorous books. The public will not have it so. His "Joan of Arc" has fallen flat, while Huck Finn is likely to delight one or two generations to come. He can find his consolation in reflecting that he who causes two laughs to come where only one was laughed before is a greater benefactor to the race than he who sets folk yawning.

Prof. Alfred Russel Wallace is a scientist of the first rank, but he is also a sturdy social reformer, holding advanced views on many subjects. He has written a new book, "The Wonderful Century," giving his opinions and descriptions of the material and intellectual achievements and equally striking failures which especially distinguish the nineteenth century. Under the "successes" are considered modes of traveling, labor-saving machinery, the conveyance of thought, fire and light, new applications of light-photography, the spectrum analysis, theoretical discoveries in physics, minor applications of physical principles, a few of the great problems of chemistry, etc., etc. Among the "failures" are the neglect of phrenology, the opposition to hypnotism and psychical research, vaccination, which the writer calls a "delusion—its penal enforcement a crime," the demon of greed, etc.

The *Spectator*, which still remains the best of the English weekly reviews, has been turned into a limited liability company,

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The Macmillan Company announce a book of "American Prose Selections," compiled by George Rice Carpenter. They will have critical introductions by various writers, and a general introduction by the compiler, professor of rhetoric and English composition at Columbia University. It is intended as a supplement to the five volumes of Craik's "English Prose."

Now Roberts Bros., of Boston, announce that their subscription business is sold to the new firm of Hardy, Pratt & Co. Mr. Hardy has been with the old firm for thirty-three years. Their ordinary publication business was recently acquired by Little, Brown & Co.

Donald G. Mitchell has a new volume of "American Lands and Letters" in press with Charles Scribner's Sons. The book includes over 100 illustrations. The first volume, it will be recalled, figuratively covered the period from the Mayflower to Rip Van Winkle. The second volume, perhaps, has more intimate interest for the reader. The author talks familiarly of Bancroft, Emerson, Hawthorne, Whittier, Longfellow, Holmes, Lowell, Thoreau, Poe, Motley, and Parkman, many of whom were personally known to Mr. Mitchell.

D. Appleton & Co. will presently publish the first volume of "The Scientific Memoirs of Thomas Henry Huxley," edited by Professor Michael Foster and Professor E. Raye Lankester. The complete work will be in four volumes, and the publishers hope to present it all within a year or eighteen months. Besides the text, Volume I. has thirty-two plates and an excellent photographic portrait. "The Memoirs," it is expected, will greatly

strengthen Professor Huxley's position in the popular mind as a man of absolute sincerity in all the work that he undertook. The most obvious feature of "The Memoirs" is the wide range of subjects dealt with. There is hardly a group of the animal kingdom, hardly a department of biological science, to which some contribution is not made.

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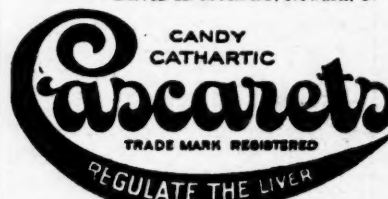
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